

## Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 082479

71 60

ORIGIN INR-07

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-06 ARA-06 EA-07 EUR-12 NEA-10 IO-11

SIG-01 PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 CIAE-00 NSAE-00 EB-07

/094 R

DRAFTED BY INR/RAR:GHSUMM:APS

APPROVED BY INR:MPACKMAN

INR/RAF:ESCHAEFER (IN DRAFT)

NEA:SHOLLY

INR/REA:PBARNETT (IN DRAFT)

INR/RNA:JDONOVAN (IN DRAFT)

IO:JWASHBURN (IN DRAFT)

INR/RSE:PCOSTOLANSKI (IN DRAFT)

ARA:HRYAN (IN DRAFT)

AF:CAJAMES (IN DRAFT) EA:WGLEYSTEEN (DRAFT)

EUR:JAARMITAGE (DRAFT) NEA/RA: SHOLLY

----- 081037

P 061925Z APR 76

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY ALGIERS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY KUWAIT PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MONROVIA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BAMAKO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LIMA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY DAKAR PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY COLOMBO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY JAKARTA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY KINGSTON PRIORITY

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 082479

AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN PRIORITY

INFO ALL DIPLOMATIC POSTS PRIORITY

S E C R E T STATE 082479

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PORG CE

SUBJECT: COUNTRY STUDIES ON NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT  
COORDINATING COMMITTEE MEMBERS

1. INR IS PREPARING A SERIES OF REPORTS IN PREPARATION FOR THE NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT TO TAKE PLACE IN COLOMBO, SRI LANKA, IN AUGUST. THE FIRST OF THESE PAPERS, INR REPORT 369, DATED MARCH 26, 1976, "THE NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT CONFERENCE AT SRI LANKA: BACKGROUND TO THE ISSUES", IS ON ITS WAY TO YOU.

2. ANOTHER REPORT WILL DEAL WITH THE 17-MEMBER NON-ALIGNED COORDINATING COMMITTEE, WHOSE FOREIGN MINISTERS ARE SCHEDULED TO MEET IN ALGIERS MAY 30-JUNE 2 TO CONSIDER THE COLOMBO AGENDA. THE COMMITTEE'S ACTIONS MAY DETERMINE MANY NON-ALIGNED POSITIONS WHICH WILL BE ADOPTED AT COLOMBO. (THE COMMITTEE IS CURRENTLY DRAFTING THE AGENDA FOR THE SUMMIT IN THE COURSE OF FREQUENT MEETINGS IN NEW YORK.)

3. COORDINATING COMMITTEE MEMBERS' RECEPTIVITY TO US PERSUASION AND INFLUENCE WILL BE AN IMPORTANT INGREDIENT OF THIS REPORT. INR WILL ATTEMPT TO DETERMINE SUCH RECEPTIVITY THROUGH A SERIES OF COUNTRY STUDIES (ALONG

LINE OF THE FOLLOWING SAMPLE STUDY ON GUYANA) CONSISTING OF SIX SECTIONS:

--HISTORY OF MEMBERSHIP IN NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

--REASONS FOR MEMBERSHIP

--FOREIGN POLICY INTERESTS

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 082479

--ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE TO THE COUNTRY

--ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE TO THE US

--RECEPTIVITY TO US PERSUASION AND INFLUENCE

4. YOUR COMMENTS ON THE OUTLINE AND SUGGESTED CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY ITSELF, FOR YOUR COUNTRY, WOULD BE APPRECIATED BY APRIL 15.

5. FOR CAIRO, DJAKARTA AND KINGSTON: ALTHOUGH EGYPT, INDONESIA AND JAMAICA ARE NOT COORDINATING COMMITTEE MEMBERS, THEY MAY ALSO BE RECEPTIVE TO US INCENTIVES ON

SELECTED ISSUES. YOUR COMMENTS AND CONTRIBUTIONS WOULD THEREFORE ALSO BE APPRECIATED.

THE NON-ALIGNED COORDINATING COMMITTEE

GUYANA

1. HISTORY OF MEMBERSHIP

2. GUYANA BECAME A FULL MEMBER OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT IN 1970 AT LUSAKA. IN 1972 IT HOSTED A CONFERENCE OF FOREIGN MINISTERS OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES. SINCE THE 1972 GEORGETOWN MEETING WAS THE FIRST NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE HELD IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE, GUYANA GAINED CONSIDERABLE PRESTIGE IN THE MOVEMENT. PRIME MINISTER FORBES BURNHAM ATTENDED THE ALGIERS SUMMIT IN 1973, FLYING THERE WITH FIDEL CASTRO AND MICHAEL MANLEY OF JAMAICA. DURING THE LIMA FOREIGN MINISTERS' CONFERENCE IN 1975, A GUYANESE DELEGATE SERVED AS ONE OF SEVEN VICE CHAIRMEN. GUYANA IS ONE OF 17 MEMBERS OF THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT.

3. SINCE 1970, GUYANA'S TENDENCY TO VOTE WITH NON-ALIGNED RADICALS HAS INTENSIFIED. THE GEORGETOWN CONFERENCE WAS A SIGNIFICANT TURNING POINT. HOWEVER, GUYANA GENERALLY HAS NOT TAKEN THE LEAD ON NON-ALIGNED ISSUES, EVEN MAINTAINING A LOW PROFILE AT GEORGETOWN WHILE ITS FOREIGN MINISTER ACTED AS CHAIRMAN. GUYANA'S ACCEPTANCE IN THE INNER  
SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 082479

COUNCILS OF THE MOVEMENT IS ACCOUNTED FOR MAINLY BY ITS WILLINGNESS TO VOTE WITH THE RADICAL LEADERSHIP. GUYANESE INFLUENCE IS NOT GREAT, THOUGH THE GUYANESE LIKE TO THINK OF THEMSELVES AS MODERATES AND A BRIDGE BETWEEN LATIN AMERICA AND BLACK AFRICA.

4. AT THE LIMA MEETING, THE GUYANESE CALLED ON THE ARAB MEMBERS TO HONOR A PLEDGE TO ESTABLISH A "SOLIDARITY FUND" TO HELP LDCS, AND PROMOTED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION CENTER TO HELP CONTROL TRANS-NATIONALS.

5. REASONS FOR MEMBERSHIP

6. FORBES BURNHAM, GUYANA'S ONLY PRIME MINISTER, GAINED HIS OFFICE OVER MARXIST CHEDDI JAGAN WHEN GUYANA ACHIEVED INDEPENDENCE IN 1966. BURNHAM HAS SINCE MOVED STEADILY

AWAY FROM HIS FORMER SPONSORS, AND HAS ATTEMPTED TO REDUCE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL TIES WITH THEM. SINCE 1970, BURNHAM'S FORMULATION OF GUYANA'S "NON-ALIGNED" POLICY HAS REMAINED STANDARD: GUYANA SEEKS FRIENDSHIP WITH AS

MANY COUNTRIES AS POSSIBLE, IS NOT ALIGNED WITH ANY MAJOR  
BLOC, AND, IN PARTICULAR, HOPES TO DIVERSIFY ITS TRADE.

7. BURNHAM'S DISPLAYS OF INDEPENDENCE HAVE INCLUDED:

--DECLARING GUYANA A REPUBLIC IN 1970;

--ENDING THE LAST SYMBOLIC VESTIGE OF BRITISH RULE;

--NATIONALIZING ALL MAJOR FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN THE  
COUNTRY, INCLUDING CANADIAN AND AMERICAN BAUXITE  
(COMPLETED BY 1975) AND BRITISH SUGAR (RECENTLY ANNOUNCED)  
INVESTMENTS;

--JOINING THE EARLIEST CARIBBEAN LEADERS IN RECOGNIZING  
AND ESTABLISHING TRADE WITH CUBA (1972) AND CHINA; AND

--DECLARING GUYANA A MARXIST STATE.

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 082479

8. BURNHAM, THE ARCHITECT OF GUYANA'S NON-ALIGNMENT, HAS  
NO SERIOUS POLITICAL CHALLENGER. FURTHERMORE, THOSE  
WITHIN HIS PARTY WHO PRESENT EVEN A MINOR THREAT TO HIS  
LEADERSHIP APPROVE OF NON-ALIGNMENT, AND WOULD FAVOR AN  
EVEN MORE VIGOROUS POSITION. BADLY OUTCLASSED OPPOSITION  
LEADER CHEDDI JAGAN WOULD PROBABLY FAVOR CLOSER RELATIONS  
WITH THE SOVIET BLOC, BUT HAS NO CHANCE OF REACHING POWER.  
BURNHAM'S MARXIST PRETENSIONS, UNDER PRESENT CONDITIONS,  
NEED NOT CLASH WITH HIS NON-ALIGNMENT.

9. FOREIGN POLICY INTERESTS

10. GUYANA'S SPECIFIC AND IMMEDIATE FOREIGN POLICY  
INTERESTS ARE:

--SOLVING BORDER DISPUTES WITH VENEZUELA (WHICH CLAIMS  
HALF OF GUYANA) AND SURINAM;

--INCREASING CARIBBEAN TRADE TIES THROUGH CARICOM AND  
OTHER ORGANIZATIONS; AND

--MAINTAINING HIGH PRICES AND ADEQUATE PRODUCTION LEVELS  
IN BAUXITE AND SUGAR, BOTH TO TRADITIONAL CUSTOMERS (SUCH  
AS THE US) AND NEW ONES.

11. MORE GENERALLY, BURNHAM WANTS AN INTERNATIONAL  
ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH HE CAN SAFELY CARRY OUT MARXIST  
EXPERIMENTS UNTHREATENED BY SUSPICIOUS NEIGHBORS OR SUPER-  
POWERS. HIS GOVERNMENT IS COMMITTED IDEOLOGICALLY TO

COMBATTING APARTHEID.

12. THOUGH MEMBERSHIP IN THE NON-ALIGNMENT MOVEMENT COMPLICATES BURNHAM'S RELATIONS WITH HIS MAJOR DC CUSTOMERS, OTHERWISE IT SERVES MANY OF HIS AND GUYANA'S LARGER FOREIGN POLICY INTERESTS BY:

--UNITING GUYANA WITH KEY CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES IN ANOTHER INTERNATIONAL FORUM;

SECRET

PAGE 06 STATE 082479

--PROVIDING GUYANA A PLATFORM THAT MIGHT BE USEFUL IF VENEZUELA AND BRAZIL WERE TO BECOME HOSTILE;

--INCLUDING GUYANA IN ATTEMPTS TO INCREASE THIRD WORLD ECONOMIC POWER;

--OPENING NEW TRADE LINKS WITH NON-ALIGNED MEMBERS; AND, PERHAPS MOST IMPORTANTLY;

--PROVIDING BURNHAM A STAGE ON WHICH TO DEMONSTRATE FOR DOMESTIC CONSUMPTION THIRD WORLD LEADERSHIP EXCEEDING THAT NORMALLY EXPECTED OF A NATION OF 750,000.

13. ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE TO GUYANA

14. NIEO. THE GUYANESE ARE PARTICULARLY INVOLVED WITH RAW MATERIAL PRICE TRADE AND AID ISSUES. ALTHOUGH THEIR ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES HAVE BEEN WORSENED BY OIL PRICE HIKES, THEY ASPIRE TO OPEC-LIKE REWARDS FROM THEIR MEMBERSHIP IN THE INTERNATIONAL BAUXITE ASSOCIATION AND GEPLACEA THE LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN SUGAR PRODUCERS AND EXPORTERS GROUP. FOREIGN INVESTMENT ISSUES HAVE BECOME ACADEMIC WITH THE NATIONALIZATION OF MOST FOREIGN ASSETS, BUT GUYANA CAN BE EXPECTED TO GIVE LIP SERVICE TO ATTACKS ON FOREIGN CAPITAL AND TO SUPPORT DEMANDS FOR EASIER AID TERMS FROM THE DCS.

15. SOUTHERN AFRICA. MAJORITY RULE IN SOUTH AFRICA (THE ONLY COUNTRY WITH WHICH BURNMAH DOES NOT SEEK FRIENDLY RELATIONS) AND SOUTHERN AFRICA IN GENERAL WILL RECEIVE STRONG, EMOTIONAL SUPPORT FROM THE GUYANESE, AND PARTICULARLY FOREIGN MINISTER FRED WILLS. ON TWO OCCASIONS THE GUYANESE ALLOWED REFUELING STOPS FOR CUBAN PLANES EN ROUTE TO OR FROM ANGOLA. GUYANA PERMITTED A CUBAN REFUELING DEPOT TO BE SET UP, AND WAS ONE OF THE FIRST WESTERN HEMISPHERE COUNTRIES TO RECOGNIZE THE MPLA IN ANGOLA.

16. ASSISTANCE TO CUBA. THE GUYANESE ARE PARTICULARLY SENSITIVE ON THIS ISSUE. THEY HAVE BEEN ACCUSED OF PLAYING HOST TO HUNDREDS, OR EVEN THOUSANDS, OF CUBANS.

SECRET

PAGE 07 STATE 082479

ALTHOUGH MOST OF THESE ACCUSATIONS ARE FALSE, THE GUYANESE FEAR THAT BRAZIL AND VENEZUELA MAY USE THEM AS SPURS TO AGGRESSION ON GUYANA.

17. ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE TO THE US

18. KOREA. THE GUYANESE HAVE NOT VOTED WITH THE US ON RECENT KOREAN VOTES. THE FOREIGN MINISTER HAS SAID THAT WHILE GUYANA HAS NO OVERWHELMING INTEREST IN THE ISSUE, IT DOES NOT WANT TO JEOPARDIZE ITS STANDING WITH OTHER LDCS.

19. THE MIDDLE EAST. GUYANA VOTED AGAINST THE US ON THE ZIONISM RESOLUTION. THE GUYANESE CLAIM THAT THEIR ATTITUDE IS NOT ANTI-SEMITIC, BUT ANTI-EXPANSIONIST. THE GUYANESE SAY THAT THEY ATTEMPTED TO CONTRIVE A COMPROMISE PRIOR TO THE MAJOR 1975 UN PLENARY VOTE ON ZIONISM, BUT WERE REBUFFED BY THE US.

20. PUERTO RICO. GUYANA HAS SUPPORTED THE US ON PUERTO RICO. FOREIGN MINISTER WILLIS HAS CLAIMED THAT THE ISSUE IS A "NON-STARTER" AMONG LDCS.

21. RECEPTIVITY TO US PERSUASION AND INFLUENCE

22. GUYANA WOULD GAIN, AT LEAST marginally, FROM ANY HEADWAY WHICH THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT CAN MAKE IN WINNING BETTER ECONOMIC TERMS FROM THE DCS. NON-ALIGNMENT GIVES BURNHAM AN EXTERNAL BACKDROP FOR HIS DOMESTIC POLICIES.

23. US ABILITY TO EXERT DIRECT PRESSURE IS LIMITED BY THE FALL-OFF IN US BILATERAL AID, INVESTMENT, AND TRADE LEVERAGE, SINCE SALES OF SUGAR (PARTICULARLY SINCE THE END OF THE US SUGAR QUOTA) AND BAUXITE ARE NOW DETERMINED BY MARKET CONDITIONS, NOT BY US POLICY.

24. NEVERTHELESS, GUYANA NEEDS HELP FROM THE INTERNATIONAL LENDING AGENCIES, IN WHICH THE US PLAYS A LARGE ROLE, AND WHOSE GOOD OFFICES COULD BE IMPORTANT.

SECRET

PAGE 08 STATE 082479

25. FALL-OUT FROM THE CUBAN-ANGOLAN VENTURE MAY TRIM BURNHAM'S SAILS A LITTLE. HE FEARS POSSIBLE BRAZILIAN AND VENEZUELAN ACTIVITIES AIMED AT GUYANA AND MIGHT

LOOK TO THE US TO GUARANTEE GUYANA PEACE FROM THOSE

QUARTERS.

26. GUYANA--PROVIDED IT HOLDS CUBA AT ARM'S LENGTH--HAS  
NO IRRECONCILABLE DIFFERENCES WITH THE US, AND MIGHT BE  
PERSUADED TO ABSTAIN, AT LEAST ON TOPICS SUCH AS KOREA  
AND THE MIDDLE EAST. KISSINGER

SECRET

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 15 SEP 1999  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** INTELLIGENCE COLLECTION, MEMBERSHIP, NONALIGNED NATIONS MEETINGS, COMMITTEES, POLITICAL LEADERS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 06 APR 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** ellisoob  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976STATE082479  
**Document Source:** ADS  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** INR/RAR:GHSUMM:APS  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** 11652 GDS  
**Errors:** n/a  
**Film Number:** D760129-1105  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t197604115/baaaeokz.tel  
**Line Count:** 333  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ORIGIN INR  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 7  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** ellisoob  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 20 MAY 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <20 MAY 2004 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <21 SEP 2004 by ellisoob>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** COUNTRY STUDIES ON NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT  
**TAGS:** PORG, PINR, CE, GY, NACC  
**To:** ALGIERS  
NEW DELHI  
KUWAIT  
MONROVIA  
BAMAKO  
KUALA LUMPUR



KATHMANDU  
LIMA  
DAKAR  
MOGADISCIO  
COLOMBO  
DAMASCUS  
DAR ES SALAAM  
BELGRADE  
KINSHASA  
CAIRO  
JAKARTA  
KINGSTON  
GEORGETOWN INFO ALL DIPLOMATIC POSTS

**Type:** TE

**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006